

So far as I know, the Central Treasurer of the F. B. has always had to furnish Bonds sufficient to secure the organization against losses.

If the District Treasurers are not bonded officers, there is some danger of their doing what others have done before; that is, use the money for their own benefit. A District Treasurer who is neither responsible directly to the Circles, nor legally bound to the Organization, can hardly be considered a safe custodian of your money.

Now, with regard to the question of Union, which has been so much talked of, but which seems to be so little understood, I have to say that there is no man, either in the Organization or out of it, who is, or has been more anxious to see a permanent union amongst Irish Nationalists than myself; but this union must be formed upon an honest basis, and men must act honestly by each other, after it is formed, otherwise it will be of no avail. While each of the branches of the Fenian Brotherhood was governed by a distinct policy, one advocating the freedom of Ireland through an invasion of Canada, and the other through a revolution in Ireland, there was no chance of uniting the Brotherhood until a blow was struck by either party; for honest, earnest men on both sides adhered tenaciously to their respective policies.

But, even if there were no difference in policy, so long as one branch had a Senate controlled by P. J. Meehan, there could be no union formed, unless, indeed, the other party would consent to ignore every man whom Mr. Meehan regarded as an enemy of his, or who had ever said a word against him, and acknowledge himself and his machine as the only parties competent to control and direct them. This I was satisfied they would never do. Knowing the obstacles that stood in the way, I have not since the failure of the "Union Negotiations," in January, 1868, been in favor of losing time in discussing the question of union, or trying to bring it about. Now, however, that there can be but one policy for the Fenian Brotherhood, that is to prepare to fight for Ireland on Irish soil, and that Mr. Meehan and his Senate are no longer in the way, I can see no good reason for remaining disunited. That the Committee from the so-called Irish National Convention which met in Cincinnati did not unite with Mr. Savage's organization at the Convention held in New York, I can readily understand; for these men who in the past clamored loudly for Union and made it the pretext for creating disunion in our own ranks, want no union which will not give them the entire control of the Fenian Brotherhood. They professed to be very liberal in treating with the Convention. This they could well afford to be, for they represented little or nothing but themselves. When the Committee from Mr. Savage's Convention waited on me, we agreed upon the following basis of union:

WINDSOR PRISON, Sept. 7, 1870.

Agreement made between Gen. O'Neill, on behalf of himself and the Fenian Organization, of which he is President, and Col. John O'Mahony, Edward McSweeney, and Edward Coughlin, a committee appointed by the Ninth National Convention, Fenian Brotherhood, on behalf of the organization, presided over by Chief Executive John Savage:

First. That the said Gen. O'Neill accepts the Constitution of the Fenian Brotherhood, as presided over by Chief Executive John Savage, as the Constitution of the United Fenian Brotherhood.

Second. That the said Gen. O'Neill agrees, on the part of himself and the organization of which he is President, to nominate two members of the Council, one of whom shall be an Auditor, or to accept a position in the Council himself, as one of said members.

Third. That this agreement between the parties above named is made with the earnest hope that it will tend to the union of all Irish nationalists for the common cause of Ireland's independence.

(Signed,)

JOHN O'NEILL,
JOHN O'MAHONY,
EDWARD C. COUGHLIN,
EDWARD MCSWEENEY.

I look to you, Brothers, to ratify this union, and, while I shall not accept any official position in the Brotherhood, I shall be found in the ranks, laboring with you, to the end that we may be in a position at no distant day to meet our ancient enemy with a united front.

Yours, fraternally,

JOHN O'NEILL.

P. S.—For full account of the late attempt to invade Canada, see pamphlet just published by J. J. Foster, 512 Broadway, New York. Price 30 cents. Sent by mail postage free.

ADDRESS OF GENERAL O'NEILL.

IN PRISON AT WINDSOR, VERMONT.

October, 1870.

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD:

BROTHERS: No doubt, ere this, you have heard of the great Convention of Irish Nationalists which met in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 23d of last August, at the call of James Gibbons, Esq., Chairman Executive Committee. You must have heard of it, for were not the newspapers full of it, and did not all the organizations there assembled, after three days labor, bring forth, what do you think—the YOUNG UNITED IRISHMEN? Oh! immortal shade of the departed, how worthily your cloak has fallen! The name was a happy selection. Its magic sound will bring the dead to life, and much need there is of that; for the numerous Irish "National Organizations" which assembled at Cincinnati on that occasion, have long since died, if indeed they ever lived which is very doubtful, for no one of this generation has either seen or heard of any of them. But then the matter of organization is a mere trifle, for was not P. W. Dunne, of Peoria, Ill.; Danl. O'Madigan, of St. Louis, Mo.; Michael Boland, of Louisville, Ky.; and the Hon. J. W. Fitzgerald, of Cincinnati, Ohio, there? And who would dare to doubt but that they represented everything Irish on the American Continent worth speaking of; and did not my venerable friend James Gibbons, who is always on hand for an emergency, like a dutiful subject send in his allegiance to the new born infant? Oh, wonder of wonders! What are we coming to? Gibbons, the renowned, swearing fealty to Dunne, Fitzgerald, and Boland, and turning over all the property, war material, and the books, and the money—yes, even the money!—not much. But to be serious, Brothers, you know that you were not represented at the so-called Irish National Convention, and every other Irish National Organization in the country knows that it was not represented at it. To state the contrary is to assert a falsehood. But, from the individuals there present, a committee was appointed to wait on the Congress of that portion of the Fenian Brotherhood presided over by Mr. John Savage, Chief Executive, and called to meet in New York, August 30, '70. This Committee, with the brazen effrontery so characteristic of some of its members, claimed to represent the Fenian Brotherhood which has heretofore advocated the policy of freeing Ireland through an invasion of Canada, and also claimed to have all the books and papers and property, war material, etc. of the organization. In this they knew that they lied—deliberately lied. They have not got all these things, and, what is still more, they never shall. The men who have charge of the greater portion of them, know these worthies and the object they have in view too well. They know that instead of being Irish patriots, they are mere political tricksters, who are trafficking in Irish patriotism and trying to ride into political power on the back of their unfortunate country. They know too well that, instead of trying to build up an organization for the regeneration of Ireland, their great ambition is to build up a political organization for their own benefit. This is no novel idea with them; for years they have labored with an energy worthy of a better cause to accomplish their object. At the Congress of the F. B. held in Cleveland, Ohio, September, 1867, they first began to show their hand openly by trying to change the Fenian Brotherhood into a secret sworn organization, to be directed and controlled by a few men whom the members of the organization could not be permitted to know. It is not necessary for me to state my views here on secret sworn organizations in the United States, for the purpose of assisting the Irish people at home in achieving their independence. They are well known to you. But I desire to make a distinction between secret sworn organizations directed and controlled by Irish patriots having but one object in view, namely, the liberation of Ireland, and secret sworn organizations directed and controlled by political tricksters for their own benefit, using the cloak of Irish liberty to cover their rascality. Their programme, although not understood in its entirety, was spurned by the representatives of the organization at the Cleveland Congress. Some of its promoters and advocates then left the organization and came out and publicly denounced it. Its officers. Chief amongst this number were Michael Scanlan and Dr. David Bell. These open hostility and bitter denunciation, although strongly tinged with ruffianism, was high-toned, honest and honorable when compared with the conduct of Dunne, Fitzgerald, Boland and others, who were secretly acting the part of spies, watching our every movement, reporting to the States, and resorting to every means to thwart our efforts, and ready at any moment to President, while out West with Mr. Gibbons preparing organization for a fight in compliance with Senate resolutions, we visited Cincinnati, Ohio, where, to our great astonishment, we learned that Mr. Fitzgerald, while a Senator of the Fenian Brotherhood, had become

a party—in fact, the principal party—to negotiations for transferring the organization in Cincinnati from its allegiance to the F. B. to a new organization gotten up by John Mulroy of Nashville, Tenn. On being remonstrated with for his conduct, he very coolly informed us that he had intended resigning his position as Senator of the F. B. after he had completed the transfer. Mr. Gibbons then and subsequently insisted upon it that I had a right and that it was my duty to expel Mr. Fitzgerald from the organization—and he was right. Such tricksters should never be allowed to associate with honest, earnest men.

As the Fenian Brotherhood, at the Cleveland Congress, refused to be changed into a secret sworn organization, the concoctors had to try another and a less open scheme. A secret sworn organization was formed, and wherever a stray Fenian could be found to favor it, he was at once initiated, but still remained in the F. B., performing the duty assigned him. Nearly every Circle of the F. B. had one or more of these men in it. I would now ask the members of the organization to look back and they will have no difficulty in remembering the man or men in their Circles who kept them eternally in hot water, who were forever sowing the seeds of dissension and mistrust, and blackening the character of the President and other officers of the Organization. Ascertain whether or not these men were members of the secret sworn organization, whether they are still members of it, and whether they are the principal advocates of the United Irishmen or not; and at the same time ascertain whether they are not leaders of political clubs and political office-holders or political office-seekers: for this last is never to be forgotten in the general plan. You will thus be enabled to judge whether these men are actuated by pure and patriotic motives, or by their own selfish and sordid interests.

At a meeting of the Senate, held in Buffalo, N.Y., July, 1868, my venerable friend, James Gibbons, determined on having such action taken by that body as would compel such of the members of the Senate as belonged to the secret sworn organization either to abandon it or leave the Fenian Brotherhood, and, before the Senate met, extracted a promise from Mr. Meehan to have his co-operation, but to the great disappointment and utter disgust of Mr. Gibbons, when the time for taking action arrived, Mr. Meehan declined to keep his promise. Poor Gibbons always found it much more difficult to use Meehan than to permit Meehan to use him. While Mr. Meehan had no sympathy with the political schemes of these gentlemen, being on the other side of the house, yet he had his own political schemes to carry out, and could not very well quarrel with them. Gibbons was furious, but Meehan soon tamed him down.

At the Congress of the F. B., held in Philadelphia, Pa., November, 1868, these parties, under the leadership of Dunne, Fitzgerald, and McCloud, showed their hands again, but wherever they have appeared openly, they have been spurned by the representatives of the F. B. It is only when working in the dark, burrowing in their holes, that they can succeed in accomplishing anything. At the Congress they had to confine themselves to general fault-finding, and sowing the seeds of dissension. Of course, they made a great plea for Ireland, and the men at home. Being fully cognizant of the workings of these men, and their treachery to the principles which they professed to advocate, I would long since have denounced them publicly, were it not that I knew the evil effect of a quarrel in our own ranks, and, besides, I knew that the great majority of the men of the Organization were honest and earnest, and as long as Messrs. Meehan, Gibbons, and others appeared to work in harmony with me I felt that our preparations for taking the field could be completed in spite of them. If Mr. Meehan had been really honest in his professed desire for a fight this could have been accomplished, for there were good men in the Senate, as well as political tricksters, whom he could have got to work with him, and although their active co-operation might not amount to much, yet their opposition, under his guidance, was very injurious. The most sincere and honest man amongst them, and one who was really anxious for it, James Gibbons, at the critical moment, did most to destroy the chances for a successful fight. But I do not blame the poor old man, for, although a giant in his own estimation, he was only a weak babe in the hands of Meehan. He is now in strange company. The steadfast opponent of secret sworn organizations, he is the ardent supporter of one; for the United Irishmen is nothing more or less than a secret sworn organization for American political purposes. It is asked "What's in a name?" The founders of the United Irishmen seemed to have known full well its value; for, by giving their secret sworn organization the name *United Irishmen*, they knew that they were throwing a cloak over their real designs. To become a United Irishman is taking the preliminary step. All who are thought worthy of going farther will in due time be permitted to do so. But Gibbons, and men of his stamp, will have to remain United Irishmen. As for Meehan, while his services are needed on the surface, he will never be permitted to go beyond it; and although it may suit his purposes to float with it for a time, in his heart he curses the organization and its promoters. Of course the Constitution of the United Irishmen says nothing about the other Constitution, which is only for the initiated. Those who are deemed worthy can enter the *Camp* without becoming United Irishmen.

The United Irishmen, except in certain contingencies, will receive no opposition from the *Camp*, but will be encouraged and kept as a feeder for it. Its members imagine that they are perfectly free to do and say what they please; but let them undertake to do anything of importance, which has not been first sanctioned by the *Camp*, and they will soon find out how much liberty they have. I speak of this political machine without any prejudices for or against either of the two political parties of this country; I am not a politician

of any class; have never voted in my life, nor ever asked a man to vote; I have fought and bled for this, the land of my adoption and in defence of her laws and institutions, and claim the right to live here. I would not condemn this organization if it was purely an American political one, gotten up by Irishmen. For while I do not approve of organizing or keeping up political societies in this country, having a distinct nationality, and would much prefer seeing my countrymen joining either one of the two political parties of the country and associating with their American friends, yet I have no inclination at present to interfere in this matter. But, when I see the sacred cause of Ireland used for the elevation of professional patriots and political mountebanks, I feel that I have suffered too much for that cause to remain silent.

Brothers, you have been told that the United Irishmen has done away with the "two great sources of evil" to the Fenian Brotherhood—paid officials and central treasury. Now with regard to the paid officials I would say that I have known but one man in the Fenian Brotherhood competent to discharge the duties, who was willing or could afford to devote his entire attention to the Organization gratuitously; that man was Col. W. R. Roberts, and he, although reported to be the wealthiest man in the entire organization, has assured me himself that if he had not resigned at the time he did, and devoted personal attention to his own business, he would have been ruined financially. I have known some men in the Organization, recognized as unpaid officials, who were very costly ones. I shall deal with some of those *pure and disinterested* patriots at a future day. An aspirant for political honors, one who can turn the influence his official position in the U. I., gives him to securing a political office, or in remaining in office after he has got there, can very well afford to devote a certain amount of time to the Organization, on the same principle that men devote their time to getting up and sustaining political clubs. Or, if a man is publishing a newspaper and he desires that that paper shall be the recognized organ of the U. I., and thereby increases his circulation and his influence and secures a little *political pap*, he can very well afford to devote some time to it. This is business. But take my word for it, Brothers, the sort of attention thus bestowed, first by one and then by another, would not be worth paying for. No, if you want the business of an Irish Revolutionary Organization properly attended to, you have got to pay the officials who devote their entire attention to it. But an American political organization, Irish in name, is another thing and can be run and managed by the politicians who make most out of it. In the early part of 1868, soon after I became President, at a meeting held in Cleveland, Ohio, Mr. P. W. Dunne and Hon. J. W. Fitzgerald approached the Vice-President of the Organization and myself to have us use our position and influence with the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, to secure for each of them the position of Whiskey Inspector, in which they claimed they could make an immense amount of money; but the manner in which they proposed to make it, as described by Mr. Dunne, did not appear to either of us as honest; consequently we did not see the President on the subject. I presume that similar positions under President Grant would be equally acceptable, and as the chief men in the new institution, in which, of course, all Irishmen are united, they should certainly be able to obtain such positions, if they have not already got something that satisfies them. In the fall of 1868, Richard McCloud, of Norwich, Conn., then District Centre of the F. B. for that State, completely ruined the Organization in his District by his connection with politics. His Circle expelled him for violation of the Constitution in using the Organization for political purposes. I declined to approve the action of the Circle, being induced to believe at the time that Mr. McCloud would not intentionally injure the Organization to advance his own interest or that of a political party. But subsequently, when I learned that he was seeking a reward for his services by applying for a position in the Custom House in New York, and applied to myself for a letter to strengthen his claim, I saw that I had been deceived in the man. Having obtained the position sought for, he, of course, can afford to be one of the unpaid officials. These men are the model reformers who are ready to make such terrible sacrifices for Ireland.

Brothers, keep an eye on the *unpaid officials* and see if they are not making it pay pretty well. The Fenian Brotherhood, while I was President of it, was under heavy expense for paid officials, as it was always kept on a war footing, and men were constantly employed, in compliance with Senate resolutions, in getting the Organization ready for an immediate fight. With proper energy and the active co-operation of the Senate, all the work done and money raised in nearly two years and a half, could have been done in six months, at no greater expenditure than for any six months of the time. It was the procrastinating policy of the Senate that caused the money to be spent. But the U. I. is not likely to spend much money in getting ready for an immediate fight. No fears of a *rash or precipitate* movement. A fight in the distance, say a hundred years hence, will suit those gentlemen best.

With regard to the other great reform, of having District Treasurers instead of a Central one, I fear that you will find but very little advantage in it. The history of the past proves conclusively, that the Circles which retained their money in the hands of a local Treasurer, were always very rebellious towards Central authority, in fact, did pretty much as they pleased; particularly the Treasurers, some of whom left for parts unknown, taking the money with them. I have been credibly informed that the opposition which some very patriotic gentlemen made to the late movement, was owing entirely to their unwillingness to part with the money which had been collected for transportation and placed in their hands.